

## IRELAND:

# WHO IS THE ENEMY?

THE POWER SHARING Executive in Northern Ireland has been in existence for nearly five months. It was supposed to fill a political vacuum and illustrate that Catholics and Protestants could work together. But while these politicians, with their moderate views from either side of the religious divide, have worked together administering the six counties, this Executive has little support from the two communities it is supposed to unite.

This has become painfully obvious with the strike called by the Ulster Workers' Council. Their action has paralysed the industrial life and brought about a situation where people could not even obtain the essential necessities of life.

It is easy to cry 'intimidation' but it is plain that there is popular support for this action. The Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, has said in his national broadcast that they would not negotiate with 'thugs and bullies' who were trying to destroy the

Ulster Constitution and set up a 'sectarian and undemocratic State'.

Such hypocritical eyewash is a part of the stock in trade of all politicians. As usual they want things both ways. For hasn't Ulster been 'sectarian and undemocratic' ever since it was forced on the British government by the illegal activities of Protestants? And haven't all British governments since that period accepted and done nothing to change that situation? For decades Protestant sectarianism has ruled while Catholics have been treated as second class citizens. During those decades successive British governments have maintained Ulster as part of the United Kingdom. But since the 'troubles' began Ulster has become unprofitable and embarrassing to Westminster. Really they want to get it off their hands and would rather see it incorporated into the south and form the 32 counties of Eire. Such a move wouldn't threaten the millions of pounds which both the British State and pri-

vate interests have invested in Ulster.

The Sunningdale agreement was a move in that direction but even its dilution last week was not enough to appease the Ulster Workers' Council. Protestants fear the Catholic rule of the south. In fact they are a different nation, with a different religion and culture. They see themselves betrayed by the British government and by many of their own 'loyalist' leaders. They've seen Stormont swept aside and a military dictatorship imposed. They've seen the Provisional IRA carry out a bombing and shooting campaign to force a 'united Ireland'.

This has come about because of a deliberate policy of divide and rule. The six counties were deliberately populated by settlers from England and Scotland. Now this policy, which might have worked in the past, has blown up in the faces of the politicians

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# THE NEED FOR DISOBEDIENCE

WE ARE increasingly being told of the dangers of 'anarchy' (they mean 'chaos') if the law is continually defied, broken, or if the penalties imposed by law are not fully carried into effect. It is urged upon us that the cohesive force that keeps society and or the state together (to some the words are falsely interchangeable) will break down unless the laws are obeyed and there is some respect for law and order. This is not so and even in some of the most orthodox and law-abiding circles it is recognized that 'good men do not obey the law too well'.

Every reader of The Sunday Times must be aware by now that it has prominently featured two extracts from a new book, Obedience to Authority by Stanley Milgram, former assistant professor of psychology at Yale University (Tavistock Publications, £2.50). In it he details the record of a series of experi-

ments with forty subjects which seem to prove an undesirable propensity for people to obey authority without question.

Ostensibly the experiments were to test the memory of a clinical subject who was supposedly under the control of the volunteers who could, by means of electric shock apparatus, stimulate their subject to make correct responses. Incorrect answers were 'punished' by progressively increasing the voltage of electric shock waves beyond danger level and even up to a point where, in theory, they could cause death. The volunteers were under the illusion that they had the power of administering punishment and twenty-six out of the forty carried through the 'experiment' without questioning.

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On the face of it, this would seem a pretty poor outlook for humanity if only one third will refrain from conduct likely to

cause pain, damage or death to a fellow human being. Furthermore this conduct was not in pursuit of personal gain, sexual satisfaction or even self-protection but in the service of the lofty abstraction 'the pursuit of scientific knowledge'.

It was assumed that great progress had been made in international law when, in the judgement at Nuremburg it was laid down that the individual has responsibility for his acts and that the defence that he was acting 'under orders' was no defence at law. Hence disobedience to inhumane orders was no crime.

But Nuremburg was only the judging of the defeated by the victors and comparable (if not equal) crimes could be scored against the prosecutors by the defeated -- Dresden, Hiroshima, Katyn Forest all spring to mind. With the peace that continued

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# PORTUGAL

## AS WE WERE SAYING

Anarchism never died in Portugal .

It was in full development when the fascist dictatorship of 1926 blocked its way - using the most barbarous and inhuman methods.

Anarchist influence was strong among the Portuguese workers under the red and black banner of the C.G.T. (Confederação Geral do Trabalho), the anarcho-syndicalist union with almost 300,000 members, all freely associated, seeking correct paths toward social emancipation.

The history of this genuinely popular and working class movement can now be freely written. And it is time too. Firstly because during the dictatorship, censorship had to be evaded; secondly because of the mystification by democrats, republicans and socialists who insist on depicting the parliamentary period of 1911 to 1926 as a period of social progress, national renewal, etc., in which struggles between bosses and workers were minimal.

Finally it was necessary, as it is today more than ever, to moderate the claims of the Portuguese Communist Party that only they have struggled since 1926 against fascism in Portugal.

The 7th of February 1927, the revolt in Madeira in 1931, the workers' uprising of the 18th of January 1934 (aborted by the Communists,) the acts of sabotage against the military aid given by Salazar to Franco in 1936, and the attempts against the life of Salazar in 1937, were all the acts of workers who had only one thing to give against fascism in Europe - their lives. These men were Portuguese anarchists, who were tortured, interned and assassinated because they believed in freedom.

Today the Portuguese anarchists are again at work, organising day and night to carry forward the revolutionary work of the previous generations.

The Portuguese comrades surely deserve our support, which can take the shape of money, books on anarchism, free copies of anarchist publications, which we will send to Portugal for the benefit of the movement. If you have anything to spare please forward it to:

O CLARÃO  
c/o Freedom,  
84b Whitechapel High St.  
London E.1.

P.S. We are glad to announce the appearance of a new publication with the title - A IDEIA, published in France. Correspondence to: Escartin, B.P. 41, 92190 - MEUDON, France

We are awaiting a communication from a comrade who has gone specially from Paris to Portugal to make contact with the Portuguese Libertarian Movement.

Claude.

# SPAIN

## Kidnap

M Alain Bernard, a Parisian examining magistrate, charged the seven people suspected of taking part in the kidnapping of the Spanish banker, Angel Balthazar Suarez, with receiving ransom-money and remanded them in custody on 24th May. The seven people are: Octavio Alberola Surinach, 46, a civil engineer from Mexico; Georges Riviere, 25, a typographer from Toulouse; Lucio Urtubia Jimenez, 43, a bricklayer of Spanish origin, living in Clichy; Anne Urtubia, 32; Jane Helen Weir, 29, a British nurse; Ariane Gransac Sadori, 32, a painter from Paris; and Annie Plazen, 24, unemployed, from Saint-Orens-de-Gameville.

In addition, M. Bernard was due to examine, last Saturday (25th May), Pierre Guibert, 27, an antique-dealer of Peyriac-Minervais and his girl-friend, Daniele Haas, 21, at whose house a part of the ransom demanded in exchange for the freeing of the Spanish banker - in addition to the freeing of some Spanish political prisoners - was found.

The role of the nine people arrested so far seems to have been limited to the collecting and forwarding of the ransom for the people behind the kidnapping, who, it appears, have not yet been identified.

In an interview with the Madrid daily, A.B.C., Senor Suarez gave some details about his kidnapers: "I think there were three groups involved in my kidnapping: the kidnapers, who were very aggressive; the guards - two Spaniards and a Frenchman; and the ones who directed the operation. One of my guards was a very cultivated and intelligent man. I didn't see any women."

Translated from Le Monde, 26/27 May..

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## §§ BOOK OF THE WEEK

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\*denotes title published in USA

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# THE CROOKED CIRCLE

THERE WERE but six people standing on the pavement opposite the Old Bailey wherein PAT ARROWSMITH was standing trial and for conscience' sake one took up a protest card and held it aloft. It was too brief a time to feel any merit in the action, for a messenger came with the news that Pat had changed her lawyer and that the police wagon was now leaving to take her to lunch and as the green, window-barred police wagon eased its way into Holborn we held aloft the banners and waved and Pat Arrowsmith, seated to attention within the centre of the police wagon, waved back at us with a regal dignity. One had done one's thing and now the Town waited for our inspection and within minutes one had moved from the Old Bailey into the Berthe Hess Museum at 34 Cathedral Place, Paternoster Square, EC4.

HESS \* AUERBACH \* ATKINS

It is a light and airy gallery given over to the conventional in the arts and Adolph Hess ran his gallery with a continental grace but now he sits crippled within a wheelchair and his gallery has become a museum for his wife's paintings. Her work has been well received by the indiscriminating critics and she is asking £ 30,000 for one of her large canvases so one can but wish her well. Her style of painting is that of Frank Auerbach now on view at the Marlborough at 6 Albemarle Street W.1 wherein the paint is literally inches thick to give the impression of a sculptured bas relief and, with Auerbach, the whole surface of the canvas is churned up into a muddy mess to catch the illusion of building sites but Berthe still relies, no matter how thick the paint or the price, on a simple surface image. Auerbach's work is of the mode and belongs in the board rooms of the great property masterminds, and as they are on sale in the international Marlborough Gallery this is probably their end result for it will give these grubby speculators a sense of purpose and a missionary air every time they blow their cigar smoke in the painting's direction. Ray Atkins at the Whitechapel Gallery chooses the same industrial themes as Auerbach but his brush work is more carefree with vigorous brush strokes in the manner of Ivor Hitchens. Yet for all three one feels that the desire does not justify the whole. One walks away from the Cathedral Place gallery fearing for honour's sake to look back for the image of the man in the wheelchair and the walls of Berthe's paintings demand a coward's praise that a greater cowardice makes one afraid to give, and it is the sanctity of Ward's Irish pub beneath Picadilly that stills the conscience as with a table of Guinness and an old comrade for a drinking companion we talk of the good men who have and will die in Ireland's foul bloodbath, and we talk of poetry and destroy reputations with easy gossip and tripping tongue.

## FINANCIERS CHOICE

And it is to Tooth Gallery at 31 Bruton Street W.1 to view Marina Vaizey's choice of paintings for the current gallery's Critics Choice exhibition. Marina is the art critic of the Financial Times yet, yet? her choice is for the sophisticated and casual line drawing. One would assume that our financial pharisees of the share column index trade would have been meat for the plush, the gaudy and the expensive porn, but no. They are the old breed of usurers dolled in the fashion of the Town and their taste for painted wallpaper artwise follows the trend of gay watercolour washes and the meticulously drawn casual line. And I stand within the gallery and parry the arguments of the Gallery owner as he tries to convert me to his belief in the enforcing of the Law of the State, the sanctity of Private Property and the justified imprisonment of two Irish labourers for fiddling their income tax and neither of us converts the other, and I smile and drift from this pleasant gallery, its wealth and Marina's choice of fashionable tax deductible paintings for the Stock Exchange hawkers knowing that outside the gallery walk the enemies of their fragile way of life.

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Bernard Cohen is showing at the Waddington at 34 Cork Street W.1 but his bright geometrical abstractions can be passed by for it is Neil Dallas-Brown at the Piccadilly Gallery at 16a Cork Street W.1 who is the new talent for the jaded Town and his limping frau. The Piccadilly Gallery would appear to specialise in a sophisticated erotica

that is out of keeping with the tough Women's Lib type who runs the gallery but the work is always interesting, valid as works of art and horny enough to shock the puritan. Dallas-Brown was a gallery discovery and his fluid brushwork is in keeping with his subject matter of rutting on waving beds of clashing moorland grasses. It all seems rather draughty with the bleak brown skies merging with the thrashing grass and bodies but each man to his own pleasure, painter and buyer.

## A HANGING MATTER

But Press Day at the Royal Academy Summer Show and the free whisky is waiting and I climb the old familiar stairs, collect my catalogue, make an off-colour joke with the smiling woman press secretary and make my way into the main drag for the free drinks. Press Day within the Royal Academy is, to me, a fashionable version of a meeting of bomb site alcoholics as we form a panting pack of the facile pen to down shisky after whisky until all the bottles have been emptied and one listened, in a pleasant haze, to the black and scarlet coated attendants telling the latecomers that the wine and the whisky is no more and holding up empty whisky bottles to prove their point.

But drunk or sober one knows that the Two-hundred-and-sixth Royal Academy Summer Exhibition is a flop for never have standards been so low. This is no fault of the organisers for if the talent is not there then the walls must be filled with indifferent work and it is worth noting that in this exhibition the few good pieces of work on display are by Bond Street commercial painters such as Marton with his magnificent portrait of Julian Sheffield, Harrison and Clayton's trompe-l'oeil and Daniel's paintings of fruit. It will be rightly claimed that work by these men, and Hillier, is a dead art but this is no more than the tragedy of art in that these amazing craftsmen have nothing to say. But what they cannot be denied is their skill in the use of their tools, and in the temple of the third rate can they be condemned for being accepted as the high priests. And I must, even in protest, mention the paintings of White, Lindsell, Cooper, Woolner and O'Brien, for the Hanging Committee chose to hang these works on the outside wall of the lavatory with, on Press Day, a screen hiding them, and it was only the beer and a bursting bladder that revealed them to my innocent eye. And I publicly state that these five artists have produced the finest works of art seen in this country in our lifetime (quote me) and while the Hanging Committee can use exterior lavatory walls to hang paintings on they should not put screens in front of them.

## ANARCHISTS AND ARCHITECTS

It is in the South Room that there is cause for public concern, for this is the room given over to architectural drawings and it would appear that all the mistakes are to be repeated. After every major reshunting of the working class an inquest has been held on where the architects and the planners went wrong, and the fault is that it is the middle class rehousing the working class and the middle class do not choose to live in these high rise concrete jungles. I stood within this South Room within the Royal Academy and argued my point with a group of tailored, notebooked planners and while I spoke of living within these finished results they repeated and repeated the sacred word COSTS. And what they will not realise is that the middle class are mobile and the working class pedestrian, therefore if you build any working class community it must be built to the long preached anarchist theme, put onto planning paper by Drummond, that every living area must be a honecomb village wise of interlocking units and that when a working man or woman walks from THEIR FRONT DOOR their shops, their social centres, their pubs and all the other amenities should never be more than 15 minutes walk away, for unless we return to a life of personal communities we are doomed. That there must be a surfeit of lifts in every high rise block of flats, that the corridors must be designed as promenades, that every doorway of every flat must be designed as an entrance to a home and that every floor must be painted and tiled in different colours and patterns that a child or an old man or woman would recognise each and every floor as a separate part of the whole. And I talked and talked and the planners smiled and spoke in soft modulated middle class voices of COSTS but comrades



# THE NEW PERONISM

THE ACCESSION of Juan Domingo Peron to the presidency of the republic with a massive popular vote, has aroused conflicting impressions, a mixture of consternation, wonderment and bitter reflections. Correspondence received by us from comrades in different countries, expresses in no uncertain tone these general reactions, as well as asking for more or less detailed explanations of this singular phenomenon. Almost all express their sorrow and anger about what is happening and what may happen in Argentina in the near future.

It is a daunting task to explain in rational, objective terms, what is, fundamentally, an overwhelmingly irrational phenomenon. It will only become comprehensible with the unfolding of events, so long as these develop along logical lines. This, in our opinion, is beginning to happen.

A general explanation of this phenomenon might focus first on the creation of the mythical character which Peron portrayed and is still portraying. The myth was born in very special historical circumstances. Remember that the figure of Peron appeared on the Argentinian political stage in the middle of the Second World War, after more than a decade of conservative reaction, of economic crisis and the consequent repression of all that workers had gained during half a century of struggle. The military coup of 1943, the first step in Peron's rise to power, appeared to many to be the beginning of a new era, and the end of the reactionary nightmare. Peron, a fine political strategist, knew how to take advantage of the situation. He understood that stability on the apex of the pyramid of power could not be maintained on a base of swords and bayonets, but only on the assent of the people: he attained this with the demagogical skills he had learned from Italian fascism and German nazism, devoting himself to putting these methods into practice on Argentinian soil. The "new" methodology was quite simple: instead of the usual systematically brutal repression, he employed flattery, bribes unbridled demagogy and, as a last resort (many times resorted to)-merciless violence.

At the end of the war in 1945, the economic condition of the Argentinian state was at its optimum for putting these methods into practice. Several thousand millions of dollars had accumulated in the banks of the Allied Powers as debt to Argentina. These sums allowed Peron to carry through the plans described above. Back-dated pay rises, the encouragement of light industry - but without any infrastructure worthy of the name - distribution of gifts, open bribes, etc. Second rank union leaders were promoted to high positions in the government. All sectors of industry provided turncoats and self-seekers to make up the leading cadres that Peron needed to shepherd and lead the working class. This is how he was elected in 1946 with 55 per cent. of the poll and without any rigging of the ballots. From then until the end of 1951 were the years of artificial euphoria, of pay rises and the corresponding inflation. Then began a period of scarcity, crisis, restrictions, campaigns for greater productivity, etc.: "the time of the hollow-bellied cows". Despite all this, the period 1946-1951 was enough to create and fix the myth of Peron as a miracle-worker, creator of wealth, friend of the workers, champion of the submerged masses, etc.

The myth was not affected when, starting in 1952 (the year of Peron's re-election) the government abruptly banned strikes, relentlessly persecuted workers' leaders who wouldn't give way to its injunctions, not even when it mounted a campaign of torture against all those who made public, in any way, any criticism of the totalitarian-demagogic regime.

The way things were going, it was predictable that, in a few more years, the unfounded myth would fade away in face of the harsh reality of events. Paradoxically, the military uprising, which, with civilian support, overthrew Peron, forcing him to flee in a great hurry, put new life in the myth, which continued to grow with the years. The various governments which came after Peron, inherited crises of all kinds - economic, political and social - which were consequences of the long period of demagogy and corruption. Due to various circumstances, which it would be irrelevant to relate here, these governments turned out to be either totally inoperative

or openly regressive, some even making barefaced use of the same kind of demagogy as had been introduced by Peronism.

In this state of affairs, the determining factor par excellence of the atmosphere of confusion, discontent and economic disaster, was the military dictatorship established on the 28th of June, 1966 which, by successive stages, each one of them represented by a commander-in-chief of the army, produced not only tremendous economic chaos, but also a series of acts of violence carried out by guerilla groups, who justified their actions as responses to the government's arbitrary acts.

Meanwhile, the "leader" was living quietly in a signorial mansion in the Spanish capital, under the paternal protection of Franco's regime. It was then that there took place the weird phenomenon of a continuous, and almost unbelievable pilgrimage of all kinds of Argentinian political figures, to the lavish residence in Madrid. Most of the pilgrims went to pay homage to the exile, and to seek his eventual support for an, also eventual, democratic solution to the Argentinian problem. Peron's guests covered a broad political and ideological spectrum, from more or less fascist old conservatives to some leftwingers and even "ultraleftists". Among the latter were guerilla leaders of the Peronist "special brigades", as well as others who only wished to obtain office by legal means. Peron's strategic skill consisted in agreeing with, and approving, all of them, so that all the pilgrims, though completely opposed to each other, left with the conviction the the Great Chief supported them fully.

So long as guerilla activities and the consequent repression by the military dictatorship increased in the country, Peron appeared to the majority of his old followers and new converts as the Great Peacemaker, the only man capable of putting an end to violence, economic dependence, underdevelopment, etc., in Argentina. On the other hand, the young extremists, who were soon to coin the slogan, "socialist fatherland", left Madrid equally convinced the old leader would be disposed to initiate a genuine, more or less Marxist, revolution, if he returned to power. It should be recalled at this point that during his previous terms in office Peron in no way changed the capitalist structures of the Argentinian state, but that, on the contrary, his actions strengthened the old oligarchies, and even added new ones to them.

Due to lack of space, we won't describe the series of events which starting in 1972, gave rise to the so-called Argentinian "institutionalisation", which, by political sleight of hand, made possible the legal acquisition of power by Peron, with the support of 62 per cent. of the electorate. It was from that very moment that what we would call the process of demythification began, slowly at first, but at an ever increasing pace. The absolutely mutually exclusive and contradictory positions upheld by the Peronist strategy were bound to clash violently and destructively. A characteristic example of this inevitable collision appeared at the outset of the "New Peronism's" assumption of power. The most hotheaded of the idol's followers, consisting of lively and unthinking young men, split into antagonistic groups: on one side those who vigorously proclaimed the slogan, "socialist fatherland", and on the other those who proclaimed with equal fervour the slogan, "Peronist" (or "Justicialist") "fatherland". It was obviously not a matter of semantic differences, neither was an academic exercise. The arguments which both sides, both equally fanatical about Peron, put forward to further their cases, ranged from clubs to exchanges of machine-gun fire, and others no less powerful.

The Supreme Leader seemed indifferent to these internal polemics of his young followers, which sometimes caused the deaths of militants on both sides, either in open battle or as a result of raids. The Great Peacemaker was "into something else". Which was no less than the the pacification of the country along the lines he favoured, in the paternalist style of his previous administrations: attempts to strengthen political structures which would produce unswerving obedience to the hierarchy of the Peronist party by his followers, and a forced acceptance of this "paternalism" by the rest of the population.

One of the first steps along this path - the real infrastructure of the new politics - was the so-called "social compact". This "compact" was drawn up by a team of businessmen under the supervision



of an ex-president of the General Economic Confederation (C.G.E.) and present Minister of the Economy, José Gelbard, to whom Peron had handed over the management of the national economy. It was accepted and signed straightaway, without any further debate, by representatives of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) in the name of the workers. The essential point of the document was a total wage freeze for at least two years. It also set up a prices freeze something which, as we all know, belongs with those many utopias that have yet to be realised. The result was a severe restriction of union activity, whilst prices and taxes continued to rise. If we also take into account the fully documented fact of the unrestrained printing of banknotes without any backing, it is obvious that the "social compact" would progressively become a "hunger pact" and suppression of free trade union activity. The way that Peron and his spokesmen insisted on the inviolability of the "compact" showed clearly the end that they were pursuing: the imposition of total passivity on the workers' movement.

The next step toward the strengthening of this political scheme consisted, on the one hand, of increasing the centralisation of the C.G.T. and the discretionary powers of its officials, and on the other, of reforming the Penal code so that new offences were created and framed in such vague terms that a simple threat could lead to a long term of imprisonment.

With reference to the legal structure of the C.G.T., the militant worker, José Grunfeld says, in a well-documented study in RECONSTRUIR No. 88, that the government "hurriedly framed legislation to modify the already sufficiently fascist law no. 1445. The new law, approved in early December 1973, and issued by the Executive Power on the 11th of the same month, with the number 20615, is much more totalitarian than its predecessor: it strengthens the privileges and immunities of the present ruling clique of the C.G.T. and its national organisations; lengthens their period of office; diminishes the autonomy of the local unions, and submits them to "binding agreements" decided on in "higher circles". Through their "powers" and the National Court of Industrial Relations, the officials will attain an incredible degree of impunity with regard to their outrages, manipulation of funds, and political attitudes". Later on, he adds, "Law no. 20615 grants unlimited powers of manipulation to the authorities, which will give them even greater control over those "favoured" by the present governing party, thus closing the circle of power, from whose centre the undisputed Chief pulls all the strings."

The situation is clear: in order that the "social compact" is carried out without any hindrance, the official union leaders are to be endowed with quasi-military powers, so that they can punish militants trying to violate the "hunger pact" with expulsion from the union.

With these two steps carried out, the Great Peacemaker devoted himself to purging his movement of the rebellious elements who believed, naively, in the history of the change of power structures, and in the heresy of a "socialist fatherland", under a Peronist hierarchy. It should be pointed out that Peron's absolute hierarchical power was never questioned by any of the factions. They all accepted his undisputed authority.

When he judged the moment right for defining his attitude, Peron told all these who were calling for a "socialist fatherland", instead of struggling for a "justicialist fatherland" that they could transfer their allegiance to any of the "five parties" in Argentina professing socialism. In practice, this meant the expulsion, plain and simple, of the youth groups, who were considered the most aggressive and fervent militants of the Peronist movement. Many of them had been praised by the Chief when they were guerillas in the "heroic resistance" to the military dictatorship. Any of them who persisted with similar activities were now branded as common criminals. Their former heroism was now described by the Leader as a crime against the fatherland. There were no formal trials or legal sanctions. Punishments were carried out by extra-legal means, by the intervention of new "brigades", not this time of guerillas, but of "para-police". In this way the official police remained spotless.

An episode which took place in early February brought to light this illegal repression. During a press conference called by the President, a young journalist expressed her concern over the fact that, in a period of fifteen days, no less than twelve militants of the Peronist youth movement had been assassinated by men in civilian clothes, who, according to this young woman, were para-police groups. Peron rebuked the journalist for her effrontery and ordered one of his aides-de-camp to take down what she had said so that charges could be laid against her.

Nobody in the country is in any doubt about the origin and real character of certain outrages. Open or guerilla warfare has claimed victims on both sides, but lately victims from the so-called revolutionary tendency have greatly outnumbered those from the so-called orthodox wing.

Such is the state of "pacification" which prevails in the country since the process of "institutionalisation" was carried out by a political power supported by more than seven and a half million voters. If we add to these "incidents" the many conflicts that break out daily in almost all the provinces between the orthodox Peronists and the "Marxist infiltrators" (official Peronist jargon for anyone who talks of fundamental reforms, national socialism, etc.), a clear picture of the "idyllic peace" reigning in this Republic emerges.

In brief, we can state that the image of Peron as a reformer, a peacemaker, even a revolutionary, is totally without foundation. The imposition of an absolute hierarchy without any redeeming features, the regimentation of the unions, the relentless persecution of so-called "infiltrators", and the whole legal and extra-legal machinery which make up the life of the country today, fully justify our warnings about the risk of a return to the kind of totalitarian governments we had between 1945 and 1955.

To complete this social and political panorama of our country, we should describe the problems and crises in the various provinces, the part played by the various political groupings, the plans for reforming the laws governing the universities, the economic situation, etc. We shall touch on these matters in future reports.

#### ARGENTINIAN LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Buenos Aires, February, 1974.

#### THE CROOKED CIRCLE ...cont'd from Page 3

we of the working class not only have to live in their mistakes but we have to pay for them.

§

And I wandered along to the Tate to view Sutherland's portrait of M'Lord Goodman and it is a good solid piece of portrait painting, for as with Churchill and Maugham, Sutherland catches their small virtues, their small vices and their great vanities so too with this portrait of M'Lord Goodman given to the Tate by an anonymous donor. One week it is a backdoor gift to pay the strikers' fine to the Industrial Court and now a free portrait of M'Lord Goodman -- verily we've never had it so good. The circle was nearly complete, and into the Mayor Gallery at 14 South Molton Street, W1 to take one more look at the tortured art of Wyndham Lewis, and time has been kind to his drawings if not to his writing. There are the beautiful abstracts of Paul Jenkins at Gimpel Fils at 30 Davies Street W.1, Ward's watercolours at the Mass Gallery and Terence Cuneo heroic paintings, wherein trains and ships become the masculine dream image, grace the new Sladmore Gallery at 32 Bruton Place, W.1., and then to the Angela Flowers Gallery at 3 Portland Mews W.1 wherein Ian Breakwell is doing his thing. In July of 1967 Gustav Metzger and John Sharkey stood in the dock at the Old Bailey and were found guilty of causing an exhibition to be shown at the St. Bride's Institute of "a lewd indecent and disgusting nature being an outrage to public decency". It was no more than the Destruction in Art exhibition and the only outrage was in the killing of a chicken to amuse a middle class audience in the name of high art. It was a stupid performance and a number of those involved felt that they had accomplished some particular thing yet to the uncommitted observer it was as pathetic as watching a lunatic playing a mindless game and we watch the lunatic and not the game. Ian Breakwell is at Angela Flowers doing his "diary" and one wishes him well. I find it all so infantile and the fault is mine for I cannot accept these sad and at times sick little games wherein men without talent seek to create the illusion that they have something valid to say. In 1967 Ian Breakwell was one of those performers taking part in the DIA sessions that sprawled from the ICA to St. Bride and I sat in the courtroom at the Old Bailey when Metzger and Sharkey stood trial.

In one day's journey the circle has been closed from Pat Arrowsmith at the Old Bailey through the pubs and the art galleries of the Town and back in time to the Old Bailey and the crooked circle closes, the circle closes and within its ring we become time's clown, judge and artist, critic and gunman, publican and dealer.



# BAKUNIN SPEAKS

## THE ABSURDITY OF MARXISM

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WE HAVE several times voiced a deep aversion to the theory of Lasalle and Marx, which recommends to the workers as their immediate main goal, if not their ultimate ideal, the establishment of a people's state. This, they explain, will be nothing other than "the proletariat raised to the position of the ruling class". If the proletariat is to be the ruling class, one may ask whom will it govern? There must be yet another proletariat that will be subjected to this new domination,

this new state. It may be, for example, the peasant "rabble" which, as we know, does not stand in great favour with the Marxists, and who, finding themselves on a lower level of culture, probably will be ruled by the city and factory proletariat; or considered from the national point of view, the Slavs, for instance, will assume, for precisely the same reason, the same position of slavish subjection to the victorious German proletariat which the latter now holds with respect to its own bourgeoisie.

If there is a State, there must necessarily be domination, and therefore slavery; a State without slavery overt or concealed, is unthinkable - and that is why we are enemies of the State.

What does it mean:

"the proletariat raised into a ruling class"? Will the proletariat as a whole be at the head of the government? There are about forty million Germans. Will all the forty millions be members of the government? The whole people will govern and there will be no one to be governed. It means that there will be no government, no State, but if there is a State in existence there will be people who are governed, and there will be slaves.

This dilemma is solved very simply in the Marxist theory. By a people's government they mean the governing of people by means of a small number of representatives elected by the people. Universal suffrage - the right of the whole people to elect its so-called representatives and rulers of the State - this is the last word of the Marxists as well as of the democratic school. And this is a falsehood behind which lurks the despotism of a governing minority, a falsehood which is all the more dangerous in that it appears as the ostensible expression of a people's will.

Thus, from whatever angle we approach the problem, we arrive at the same sorry result: the rule of great masses of people by a small privileged minority. But, the Marxists say, this minority will consist of workers. Yes, indeed, of ex-workers who begin to look down upon the toiling people. From that time on they represent not the people but themselves and their own claims to govern the people. Those who doubt this know precious little about human nature.

But these elected representatives will be convinced Socialists, and learned Socialists at that. The words "learned Socialist" and "scientific Socialism" which are met with constantly in the works and speeches of the Lassalleans and Marxists, prove only that this would-be people's State will be nothing else but despotic rule over the toiling masses by a new, numerically small aristocracy of genuine or sham scientists. The people lack learning and so they will be freed from the cares of government, will be wholly regimented into one common herd of governed people. **Emancipation indeed!**

They say that this State yoke - the dictatorship - is a necessary transitional means in order to attain the emancipation of the people: Anarchism or freedom is the goal, the State or dictatorship is the means. Thus to free the working masses, it is first necessary to enslave them. What an absurdity!

Dear Comrades,

We have received an issue of FREEDOM in which (on p.6) it is reported that our review, A-RIVISTA ANARCHICA has ceased publication due to an ideological split with, and within the FAI (Italian Anarchist Federation). We are very surprised, because this news is completely false.

A-RIVISTA ANARCHICA is independent of all three Italian anarchist organisations - FAI, GAF (Gruppi Anarchici Federati), and GIA (Gruppi di Iniziativa Anarchica). The present members of the editorial are also militants in the GAF, but what it is important to

make clear is that A-RIVISTA ANARCHICA is sold by comrades and groups of FAI, GAF, and GIA, and also by people independent of the three organisations.

It is completely untrue that we have had an ideological split with the FAI.

A-RIVISTA ANARCHICA is still living, we have only changed size (with the new colour-ed cover).

Fraternal greetings,

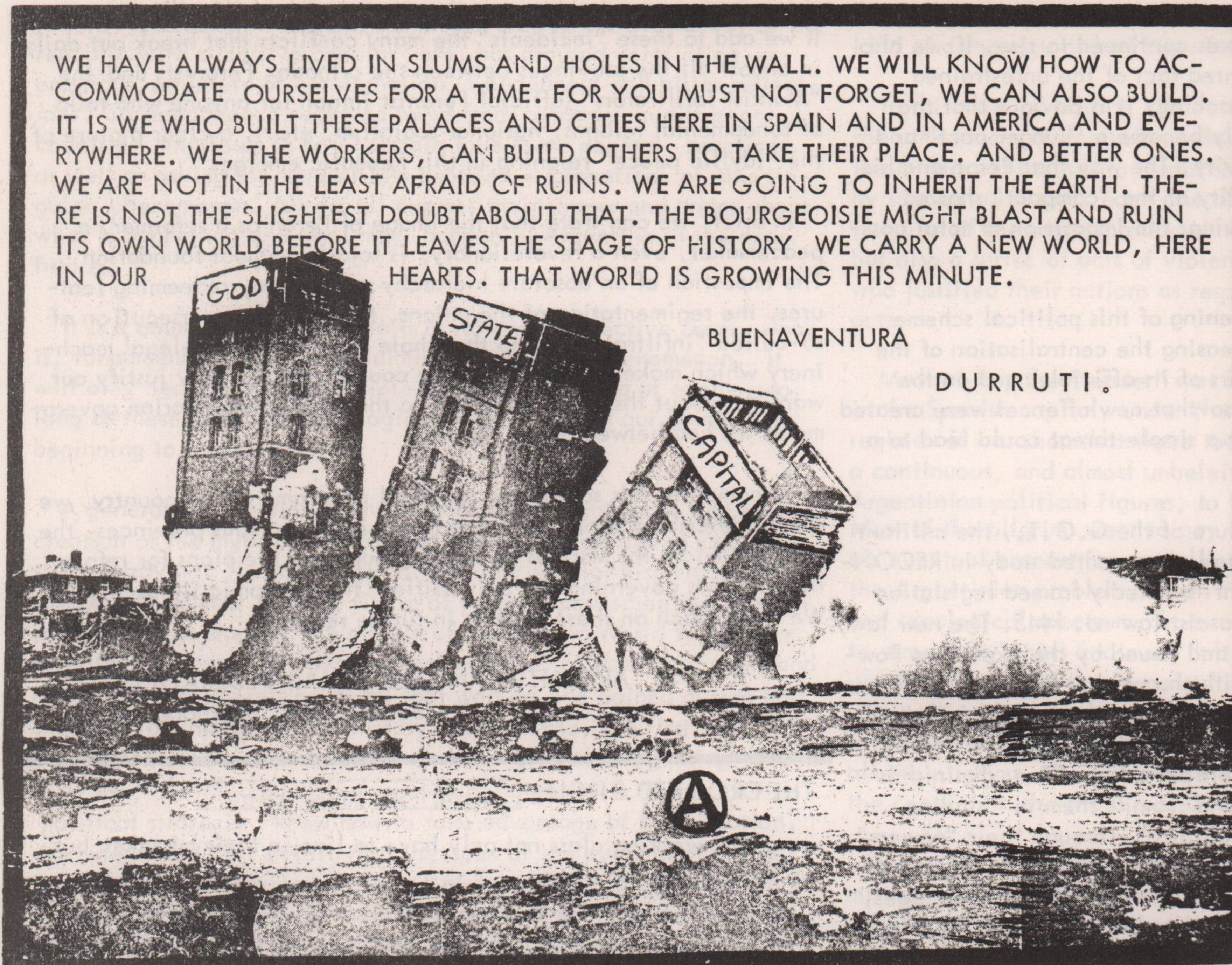
G.P. VITTORE.

Freedom editors sincerely regret having printed in FREEDOM false information about

A-RIVISTA ANARCHICA, information which was verbally passed to one of our comrades during a social evening at Centro Iberico - London, by an Italian "comrade" freshly returned from Italy. Unfortunately, we relied, at the time, on the word of this person and did not feel it necessary to check his information with the comrades in Italy responsible for the publication of A-RIVISTA ANARCHICA.

We are, however, extremely glad to be able to print the above letter correcting our mistake, for it proves that A-RIVISTA ANARCHICA is alive and well, living under a new skin.

The Editors.





# U.S.A. Continental Congress

ON APRIL 19-21, anarchists from various parts of North America met at Hunter College in New York City. The conference had been billed as a "continental congress of North American anarchists" by the Hunter Libertarian Alliance which sponsored the event.

Before the conference many anarchists had voiced opposition to the HLA's calling of the congress. An editorial in The Match! read as follows:

A regrettable pattern is developing whereby various strictly regional groups in one geographical extreme or other call for mass "continental" conferences in their headquarter areas. Of course, such affairs, organized for nobody's convenience except that of the organizers themselves, are only sparsely attended.

While the author of the editorial is speaking only for himself, he is speaking out of experience and it is regrettable that anarchist North American conferences have a way of being dominated by those from whichever region the conference is held in. What is more regrettable, perhaps, is that we keep on repeating our mistakes by calling conferences and billing them so enthusiastically.

This writer sat through various sessions and meetings and lectures and marvelled at how little his fellow anarchists knew about respect for others, let alone the history of the anarchist movement.

Members of Yippie were everywhere, loudly asserting themselves. A group of students calling themselves the Student Syndicalist League presented an impressive document which reminded some of the older conference participants of the now dead SDS libertarian faction. The New York IWW, which had been one of the sponsors of the conference, set up a literature table as did Solidarity and an anarcho-feminist group.

There was a workshop held by Faggot And Dyke Anarchists (FADA) that I found somewhat boring. It was dominated by gay males who were somewhat distrustful of one another and lacking in unity or strength. Stanley Aronowitz spoke on a variety of subjects overwhelming his audience. A talk on Gustav Landauer drew a large crowd.

On Sunday, the final day of the conference, the IWW sponsored a workshop which turned out to be a discussion of the International Workers Association\*. It was decided that the IWW members present, along with some other syndicalists, would seek membership in the IWA and would try to build a North American syndicalist alliance.

## NURSES BOIL UP



"YOU MAY BE THE HEAD SURGEON'S BROTHER, MATE -- BUT IT'S ONE OUT ALL OUT."

### QUOTE OF THE WEEK ?

At a meeting of MPs in the North East last week Dr. Monty Finiston, chairman of the British Steel Corporation, said that a blast furnace at Cargo Fleet, Teesside, could be brought back into action to overcome present production problems.

The blast furnace in question was demolished last year.

L.L.

Later that day, the closing session of the conference preoccupied itself with bickering and factionalism, totally ignoring the many hours previously spent trying to build the much talked of North American anarchist federation. The bickering seemed to be centered around the failure of the anarchists present to cooperate with one another and deal with things sensibly.

Just prior to the closing session, meetings were being held in which groups and individuals tried to write up manifestos or a statement of principles which could be put into practice via a federation. Attempts to do this met with failure.

None of the groups which had held workshops reported back to the general assembly. There was no attempt to share new ideas or to let others in on what had transpired at workshops which excluded persons because of their gender or politics.

The highpoint of the closing session - the point at which violence seemed imminent - came when a drunk interrupted the meeting and when members of Yippie chanted "Property is theft" for several minutes. Tempers were short and it is perhaps significant that many persons attending the conference went away sadly disillusioned.

One hopes that such events will not be repeated. I have left much out, perhaps my subconscious is blocking it. The next conference, if there is one, should draw even fewer persons. Meanwhile we continue to struggle.

Anthony Pestalozzi

\* International Working Men's Association?  
-Eds.

## IN BRIEF

The new Archbishop of York (who is reputed to be strong on the Ten Commandments) was guest of the Army Board at a dinner to honour General Creighton Abrahams -- late of Vietnam.

\*\*\*

The Xerox Corporation, alarmed about the proliferation and ease of document copying, has taken out a patent on a product which would make a document proof against copying.

\*\*\*

Ingersoll, the wrist-watch manufacturers, have withdrawn the description of their watches as 'water resistant' because of consumer protection measures. They, along with other manufacturers, replaced the word 'waterproof' with 'water resistant' in 1968.

\*\*\*

A solicitor's clerk was tried for threatening to release a bottle of laughing gas into St. Albans Crown Court where a protracted pornography trial was being held. He said, "I intended to interrupt long-winded and boring court proceedings."

Sancho Panza

## Letters

Dear Comrades,

Regarding "Crime War on Children" (FREEDOM, 18/5/74), although not about Basildon area: There was a bit about almost police-like surveillance of kids in Manchester in either last Roadrunner or Libertarian Education. It's also interesting police role in schools elsewhere in the country. A fellow student from near Edinburgh reports the activity of the cops in his brother's school who almost every day seem called to the school to make arrests or line the corridors during breaks, etc.

In solidarity,

Paul Summers.

Dear Comrades,

### FREE SPEECH MATTERS

Please let me apologize for the howler in the typing of the above-titled article (18 May), in col. 2 immediately following the omission marking '... ..'

I am sure every reader mentally corrected the error while reading it, but this is a good opportunity to repeat the sentence as it should have appeared, and should be remembered:

"FREEDOM OF SPEECH matters only when we really strongly disagree with someone else."

M. Canipa



of Westminster and the employers.

But the trouble is that it is the ordinary working people of Ulster, both Catholic and Protestant, who have over the past five years been suffering for the profit- and power-hungry British ruling class. The Protestant worker has been blinded by his religion and his dominant position over his Catholic fellow worker. His loyalty to Queen and Country is blind, stupid and against his own interests.

The Northern Ireland Protestant worker faces the same basic problems as the Catholic. Jobs are in short supply but their record in the struggle against the employers is as good as any in Britain. They have, at least until recent times, received a far better return for their labour than the workers in the South. But if both Catholics and Protestants are to continue to be bedevilled by their separate nationalist causes then both will end up fighting one another and a British Army as well. Such a course can only bring misery and hardship from which only the whole of the working class of Ulster will suffer. Anarchists do not want to see people killing one another for causes which only serve the power lusts of the Provisional green fascists and the bigoted Protestant politicians of the North.

Now that the British government has ordered troops in to re-start essential services Ulster could turn into a bloodbath. Both Catholics and Protestants feel let down because they have relied on politicians and governments to achieve something which only they can do for themselves.

The respective leaders of the Social and Democratic Labour Party and the various "Loyalist" organisations are only interested in power. The threatened resignation of the S.D.L.P. if Mr. Wilson did not move in troops shows how they are no different from other politicians and will impose a solution with the help of bayonets.

It is a tragedy that the present industrial action isn't being used to bring about a social revolution, confronting the bayonets with a united people who want to live in peace and control their own lives. Until both Protestant and Catholic forget the opium which so distorts their thinking and makes them such willing followers of the power seekers of the IRA, SDLP and all the "loyalist" organisations, ordinary people will confront one another in a pointless bloody struggle in which only the wrong people will suffer.

If the working people of Ulster or indeed the whole of Ireland realised their own strength they could kick out the power seekers, the religious bigots, the Brit-

war by other means new crimes were committed and revealed. Sharpeville, the crimes of Stalin, Vietnam, Northern Ireland - the list is endless - all showed that obedience to orders is the greatest of crimes. Lieutenant Calley of My Lai massacre was at the receiving end of a chain of command but his Presidential Supreme Commander hesitates to turn down his thumb or to acquit Calley since either decision would be an announcement of a stand on this question of responsibility which - in the atmosphere of Watergate - would be too revealing.

Calley was the obverse side of the position taken up by many soldiers in Vietnam of a refusal to obey orders. A position taken up by many Portuguese soldiers in Africa, and a position pointed out by Pat Arrowsmith to soldiers who might be posted to Ireland. (For this she got eighteen months but her work goes on.)

It is not irresponsibility to refuse obedience. The irresponsibility of Milgrams twenty-six was in dedicating their loyalty to an abstraction 'the pursuit of science'. Alex Comfort in The Novel and Our Time defines responsibility as "the refusal to abandon the basic conception of humaneness for any extraneous object whatsoever -- victory, democracy, the nation, the party, the civil list, or the libraries". We must, in Camus' words, become 'neither victims, nor executioners'.

In the name of abstractions like Communism, democracy, Catholicism, Protestantism or the pursuit of science we can all commit outrages upon our fellowmen. Especially, if we have been conditioned by our surroundings or have conditioned ourselves by indifference or cynicism, or we are isolated from others and from our victims, we can all step up the voltage or drop the bomb, or join the assassination squad which will produce the desired abstract result of scientific progress, victory, or national liberation.

What is the way not to abandon humaneness? It is historically untrue that progress is dependent upon observance of the law. In the larger aspects, R. C. Ingersoll observed that "We have been saved by disobedience. If we had done what the kings said we should all be slaves, if we had done as the priests said we should be idiots, if we had done what the doctors said we

ish troops and the employers. The interest of the working class is to create a social revolution, and the working class can only achieve this themselves. Instead of confronting one another they should confront their real enemies.

P.T.

should all be dead."

Historically, all our liberties have been gained by people who broke the law. Even the Protestant religious freedom to persecute was gained from Catholics who wanted to maintain their religious freedom to persecute.

The Inquisition and the St. Bartholomew's massacre were established upon obedience, as were the death-camps, the NKVD and Nagasaki.

Dr. Milgram's bloodthirsty guinea-pigs were probably well-behaved if one third refused. Did a third of the Germans? A third of the Russians? A third of the British Army in Ulster or the Americans in Vietnam? We can be saved by such disobedience.

Jack Robinson



HELP fold and despatch  
FREEDOM on Thursdays  
from 2 p.m. onwards at  
Freedom Press. Followed

by get-together and refreshments.

Change of Plan: PRISONERS WIVES UNION Wed. June 12 - Meet at Bull Ring, Waterloo Station 1 p.m. for march to Lambeth Palace, then on to Parliament to lobby M.P.s.

WANTED bet. June 7 & 16, London, floor space for 24 yr-old anarchist from Zurich. Write Marianne Berna, Schonegg, 8820 Wadenswil, Switzerland. (And also inform FREEDOM as time is so close.)

HARROW/HILLINGDON Socialist Women's Group forum Women & Sexuality at 8 pm Mon 10 June. Harrow Baptist Church, College Rd. Harrow. Contact Brenda at Ruislip 32934.

Progress Theatre, 7 & 8 June:  
O Crumbs - an irreverent look at the local firm Huntley & Palmers - plus Playmate - short documentary foll, by discussion of case of David Oluwale which ended in his death and the imprisonment of two Leeds police officers. Tickets 40p (students 35p) from Progress Theatre, The Mount, Reading (tel. 84032).

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM N. IRELAND Campaign still continues. Info., leaflets from BWNIC c/o 3 Caledonian Road, London N.1. (N.B. not the tel. no. we printed in our Pat Arrowsmith report of 18 May. We mistakenly added the no. of contact for news of the trial, in progress as we went to press.)

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES says "If we do not get a healthier bank balance your civil liberties as well as everyone else's will be in even greater jeopardy." Send donation/ask for details of membership NCCL, 186 Kings Cross Rd. London WC1X 9DE (01-278 4575)

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